

humanitarian workers have been detained for long periods of time and summarily deported from Mexico.

The deficient reception of humanitarian workers in Chiapas casts doubt on the sincerity of the Mexican Government when it says it wants to work with the United States and others to control drug trafficking or to enter into end-use monitoring agreements on the transfer of military equipment.

Mr. President, I believe the United States has an obligation to be an advocate for human rights protections around the world. I am not convinced that the Mexican National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH), which was established in 1990, has done enough to prevent continuing violations by Mexican law enforcement officials and the Mexican military. I believe the United States must make human rights a top priority in our relations with Mexico, and I do not believe Mexico can reach stability without permitting its citizens to exercise their basic rights. In light of the proximity of Mexico to the United States and the myriad ties between our two countries, we have a clear interest in working to ensure that human rights are respected in Mexico.

Again, Mr. President, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of S.Con.Res. 128, which, in my view, will further call attention to the on-going human rights abuses in Chiapas. I hope that the Administration will actively work to put human rights at the very top of our priority list with respect to Mexico, and that the Mexican government will take concrete steps to end the violence in Chiapas and to respect the rights of all Mexican citizens and international visitors.

BRIBERY IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I want to bring to the Senate's attention an excellent editorial published by the Washington Post on Wednesday, October 7, 1998 concerning the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions.

This convention seeks to establish worldwide standards for the criminalization of the bribery of foreign officials to influence or retain business. Just over 20 years ago the Congress passed the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, or FCPA. This landmark legislation, which I am proud to say was sponsored by one of Wisconsin's most respected elected officials, Senator William Proxmire, was enacted after it was discovered that some American companies were keeping slush funds for making questionable and/or illegal payments to foreign officials to help land business deals.

For these 20 years, the FCPA has succeeded at curbing U.S. corporate bribery of foreign officials by establishing extensive bookkeeping requirements to ensure transparency and by criminalizing the bribery of foreign officials.

The OECD treaty, which passed the Senate unanimously earlier this year, would bring most of our major trading partners up to the same standards that U.S. companies have been exercising since the FCPA became law.

Mr. President, I consider this treaty, and the implementing legislation, S. 2375, that accompanies it, to be important work of the Congress. However, as the Washington Post noted in its editorial, the House of Representatives has yet to pass this legislation.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which had the responsibility to recommend the Senate provide its advice and consent on this treaty, I hope the House will move quickly to pass the implementing legislation prior to adjournment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the October 7, 1998, Washington Post editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 7, 1998]

A VOTE AGAINST BRIBES

It's not every day that Congress has an opportunity to pass legislation that has no down side whatsoever, that can only help the United States and U.S. businesses; that fulfills a demand Congress itself made 10 years ago; and that—perhaps rarest of all—has the ardent support of both President Clinton and Sen. Jesse Helms. The House has such an opportunity now, with a bill to implement an international treaty combating bribery overseas. Yet, perhaps not surprisingly, even this universally acclaimed legislation is no longer a sure thing.

More than 20 years ago, Congress passed the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which outlawed the paying of bribes by U.S. business executives to win foreign contracts. It was and remains a good law, and by most accounts it has had a beneficial effect on how Americans do business. But it's also put them at a competitive disadvantage to European and other companies that not only aren't prohibited from paying bribes but in many cases can deduct the payoffs from their taxes. The administration estimates that U.S. industry may lost \$30 billion worth of contracts each year for its honesty.

The Clinton administration last year negotiated a treaty with other major industrial countries that would essentially extend the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act to all of them. Instead of the United States lowering its standards, long years of diplomacy finally persuaded Europeans to raise theirs. The Senate unanimously ratified the treaty, citing what Sen. Helms called an "urgent need to push—and I use that word advisedly—to push our European allies" to criminalize bribery overseas. Now the House must make U.S. law consistent with the treaty. No one is against this. But the press of business may put the bill in danger.

This may seem less urgent than other matters awaiting congressional action. But corruption is at the root of the financial crisis sweeping the world. Rich countries are good at telling their poor counterparts to behave; here is a change to show that the rich are willing to police themselves, too. For the United States, which has been doing such policing for two decades, this is a no-lose proposition. But if Congress doesn't approve the treaty, Europe and Japan won't either. The House should pocket this win before it's too late.

MEDICAL DEVICE MANUFACTURER YEAR 2000 RESPONSE

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, about two weeks ago, a list of medical device companies was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which indicated they were non-responsive to The Food and Drug Administration's request for Year 2000 compliance status.

As Chairman of the Senate Medical Technology Caucus, I believe it is important my colleagues have the latest on manufacturers which have been responsive to the FDA's request for information on the Year 2000 compliance status of their products. Companies were asked by the FDA to indicate in their response the following:

The medical devices marketed and have sold are not Year 2000 vulnerable; medical devices marketed and sold are all year 2000 compliant; the manufacturer is providing specific information regarding those products which are not compliant or their assessment is currently incomplete; or the manufacturer is working on an assessment and will post the results.

Mr. President, there are many sectors of our economy which still need to address the potential for problems in the year 2000, but I am pleased that a vast majority of medical device companies in the United States have responded to the FDA on year 2000 compliance status and deserve to be recognized for having done so.

I would like to mention specifically thirteen companies mistakenly listed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as being unresponsive to the FDA's request. These manufacturers have responded to the FDA's request for Year 2000 compliance status: Apothecary Incorporated, Augustine Medical Incorporated, Braemar Corporation, Dantec Medical Incorporated, Diametrics Medical Incorporated, Keomed Incorporated, Medtronic PS Medical Medtronic Biomedicus, Medtronic Neurological, Prime Ideas Incorporated, Puritan Bennett Corporation, Timm Research Company, and Williams Sound Corporation.

Mr. President, while this list only represents companies based in Minnesota, the FDA has compiled a much larger listing of companies which are or have addressed year 2000 issues on their website located at www.fda.gov.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the 105th Congress is nearing its conclusion. As we look over the past two years of this Congress, one issue that consumed hours of effort and debate, exposed problems that strike at the heart of our government, and whose ramifications are nothing less than a cancer eating at the body politic, remains unresolved. I'm talking about campaign finance reform.

In January 1997, this Congress launched multiple investigations into events associated with the 1996 federal elections. Dozens of hearings were held,

and the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee issued a 9,575 page report. Bipartisan legislation addressing the major issues was introduced and debated on the floor of the Senate and the House. Majorities on both sides of the Capitol voted in support of reform, to strengthen federal election laws. In the Senate, a majority supported the McCain-Feingold bill. In the House, a majority voted for the Shays-Meehan bill. Both bills sought to ban soft money, treat phony issue ads as campaign ads they are, strengthen disclosure, and streamline enforcement. Despite majority support in both Houses, we are ending this Congress without major campaign finance reform.

It is a tragedy. Given the controversy and criticisms following the 1996 elections, the failure to enact meaningful campaign finance reform is unjustifiable, it is inexplicable, and it is wrong.

As many of us have said repeatedly, the problem with the 1996 elections is that the vast majority of the conduct most loudly condemned was not illegal—it was legal. Most involved soft money—the solicitation and spending of undisclosed and unlimited election-related contributions, despite laws now on the books requiring federal campaign contributions to comply with strict limits and be disclosed. Virtually all the foreign contributions so loudly condemned involved soft money. Virtually every offer of access to the White House or the Capitol Building or to the President or the leadership of the Senate or the House involved contributions of soft money.

Opponents of campaign finance reform contend that soft money is not a problem and that the laws on the books do not need reform, but the truth is that legal limits which once had meaning have been virtually swallowed up by the loopholes. The limits on individual, corporate and individual contributions have become a sham. Campaign contribution limits, for all intents and purposes, do not exist.

The law now states, for example, that no one may contribute more than \$1,000 per election to a candidate; no one may contribute more than \$20,000 per year to a political party; and corporations and unions may not make federal campaign contributions at all except through a PAC. But the soft money loophole makes these limits meaningless. For example, under the current system, a corporation, union or individual can give \$1 million to a candidate's party and have that party televise so-called issue ads in that candidate's district during the election, using an ad that is indistinguishable from candidate ads which have to be paid for with regulated funds. That's exactly what is happening. In the 1998 elections, for example, the Republican National Congressional Committee is conducting a \$37 million advertising effort dubbed "Operation Breakout" in which the party runs television ads in areas where there are close Congressional races, claiming that the ads dis-

cuss issues and are not efforts to elect or defeat the candidates they mention by name. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee is spending \$7 million on similar issue ads. These multi-million dollar advertising efforts by both parties demonstrate how the loopholes have effectively erased the campaign limits.

Other, more fundamental problems with current law are illustrated by a recent court decision, issued October 9th in the Charlie Trie prosecution, holding that the law as currently worded does not prohibit soft money contributions by foreign nationals.

The plain truth is that the federal election laws now on the books are too often unenforceable. While the Republican leadership rails at the Attorney General for not doing more and threatens her with impeachment for not appointing an independent counsel to investigate the 1996 federal elections, they simultaneously block efforts to clarify and strengthen the very laws that they say they want her to enforce.

The soft money loophole exists, because we in Congress allow it to exist. Foreign involvement in American election campaigns exists, because we in Congress allow it to exist. Phony issue ads exist, because we in Congress allow them to exist. Weak enforcement of campaign laws continues, because we in Congress allow the current loophole-ridden statutes to continue on the books unchanged.

It is long past time to stop pointing fingers at others and take responsibility for our share of the blame for this system. We alone write the laws. Congress alone can close the loopholes and reinvigorate the Federal election laws.

We could have made significant progress during this Congress. The House passed meaningful campaign finance reform. The majority of the Senate voted to do the same, but the Republican leadership brought sufficient pressure to bear so that the chief sponsor of the legislation in the Senate, Senator McCain, withdrew his reform amendment to the Interior appropriations bill. We had 52 votes in favor of his amendment to include the McCain-Feingold legislation in that bill. But rather than allow the majority to prevail, the Republican leadership sank the campaign finance reform effort. And when Senator Feingold announced his intention to offer the same amendment again to force another vote, the leadership chose to pull the Interior bill from the Senate floor. And since the Interior appropriations bill was pulled from the Senate floor in September, there has been no must-pass bill on the Senate floor that supporters could seek to amend to forward the campaign finance reform effort.

Instead the Interior bill, along with a number of other appropriations bills, have been folded into a so-called omnibus appropriations bill. That means that anyone who wants to enact campaign finance reform by amending the omnibus spending bill would be forced

to hold up almost all government appropriations—essentially to shut down the government—in order to debate the issue.

The question is whether these strong-arm tactics will prevail. Whether, given the obstacles thrown in the path of campaign finance reform, we give up this fight or whether we continue to press on. Senators McCain and Feingold have said publicly that they will be back in the next Congress to fight for reform. I plan to stand with them. I believe the stakes are nothing less than the integrity of our electoral system.

The time is over for empty rhetoric about the 1996 campaign and the need for stronger enforcement of the campaign laws already on the books. The laws now on the books are too often unenforceable, and everyone knows it. It is time to wipe away the crocodile tears and see clearly what the American people see. Campaign finance reform is long overdue.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, we are now in the closing days of this congressional session. A lot is happening in these final hours. With the clock ticking we almost always knuckle down and get things done. But it has become clear that one thing that this Congress will not do before it adjourns is pass meaningful campaign finance reform.

Today I want to serve notice that this fight is not over. If the people of Wisconsin in their wisdom send me back to this chamber next year, the Senate will hear about campaign finance reform again and vote on campaign finance reform again because our democracy has been made sick by the corrupting influence of big money, and the future of our country is at stake.

And Mr. President, this fight will continue regardless of what I say. Because the fight for campaign finance reform is bigger than any one Senator or any one political party. It is as big as the idea of representative democracy itself, and just as resilient. This is a fight for the soul and the survival of our American democracy. This democracy cannot survive without the confidence of the people in the legislative and the electoral process. The prevalence—no—the dominance—of money in our system of elections and our legislature will in the end cause them to crumble. If we don't take steps to clean up this system it ultimately will consume us along with our finest American ideals.

Mr. President, there has been a lot of discussion on this floor in recent weeks about morality. Indeed, we are now engaged in a process, both constitutional and political, that may ultimately lead to an impeachment trial in this historic chamber. Questions of morality are at the center of that process, which has consumed much of the public's and the press's attention over the past several months.